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ABSTRACT

Motivation towards English learning in Japanese schools today is analyzed according to John Condry and James Chambers' process-of-learning paradigm. The four stages of learning (initial engagement, process, disengagement, and re-engagement) are shown to emit different processes of learning in students based on whether learning is intrinsically or extrinsically motivated. Intrinsic learning motivation involves an inner desire to learn a more integrated set of skills stimulated by personal interest and curiosity. Such students tend to use more of the available English language information and are more involved in the process of learning. Extrinsically motivated students are focused on achieving the external reward, which in this case is proficiency in English on entrance examinations for higher education institutions. The emphasis is on the end product of education. Here, students tend to short-cut the learning process, use less information, and develop fewer learning strategies. Edward Deci's Cognitive Evaluation Theory is presented to show how the intrinsic motivation context changes to the extrinsic context when rewards are administered for activities that were originally intrinsic. Some suggestions are offered on how guided classroom learning may be stimulated by intrinsically motivated tasks. (Author/MSE)

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Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation Learning Processes: Why Japanese Can't Speak English

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Paper presented at the Japan Association of Language Teachers' International Conference on Language Teaching and Learning (Seirei Gakuen, Hamamatsu, Japan, November 22-24, 1986).

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Abstract

Motivation towards English learning in Japanese schools today is analyzed on the basis of John Condry and James Chambers' (1978) process of learning paradigm. The four stages of learning: initial engagement, process, disengagement, and re-engagement are shown to emit different processes of learning in students according to whether learning is intrinsically or extrinsically motivated. Intrinsic learning motivation involves an inner desire to learn a more integrated set of skills stimulated by personal interest and curiosity. Such students tend to utilize more of the available English language information and are more involved in the process of learning. Extrinsically motivated students are focused on achieving the external reward--in this case, proficiency in English entrance examinations to institutions of higher education. The emphasis is on the end-product of education. Here students tend to short-cut the learning process, utilize less information and develop fewer learning strategies. Edward Deci's Cognitive Evaluation Theory (1975) is presented to show how the intrinsic motivation context changes to the extrinsic context when rewards are administered for activities which were originally intrinsic. Finally, some suggestions are offered in how guided classroom learning may be stimulated by intrinsically motivated tasks.

Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation Learning Processes
Why Japanese Can't Speak English

The impetus of social pressures emanating from the media, within schools and inside the home in Japan today to perform well in entrance examinations to gateways of higher education is often enough to motivate most students to achieve well in school. The concern in Japan and elsewhere with the "end product" of education--that evaluation score after 9 or 12 years of schooling--undermines the importance of the process involved in the acquisition of essential learning strategy skills along the way. The quality of the step by step process of learning affects the transfer of generalized learning to other areas later. Learning is not a passive pursuit; it is an active process in which the individual must create his/her own context for the activity. Motivation is the basic essential element to trigger the activity.

Why are certain people motivated to act in certain ways where others are not? In regards to education, we are concerned with what motivates individuals to learn. But from the very beginning, it is important to distinguish between the kind of motivation which stimulates "learning" as opposed to motivation which stimulates "studying" or "memorizing". This "studying" or "memorizing" may simply be the behavior chosen to satisfy the motivation to learn. However, it may otherwise be behavior unrelated to the learning process; behavior motivated by hopes or receiving some sort of external reward. The act of studying under differing contexts stimulated by a variety of conditions may thus result in differing outcomes of that study behavior. It becomes necessary to look at the mechanism in which the act of studying develops

into a learning process, or something else. What kind of attitudes are involved that affect the learning process, and to what quality of learning? How does the development of learning skills affect learning later?

John Condry and James Chambers[1] have analyzed how students maintaining differing contexts of learning motivation come to display differing learning processes. They pose the question of what "level of difficulty" subjects will choose to engage in under the different motivational contexts. In this paper, I would like to apply Condry and Chamber's process of learning paradigm and motivation orientation to the learning of English in Japanese schools. How does the teaching of English-including the evaluation system, curriculum, and educators--motivate students towards learning? In order to explain how Japanese students are motivated towards English learning, it first becomes necessary to examine the two contexts of intrinsic and extrinsic learning motivation. We can then discuss how Condry and Chambers' paradigm is applicable to Japan.

WHAT IS LEARNING MOTIVATION?

Motivation is defined in the Merriam-Webster Dictionary as a need or desire that causes a person to act. According to Edward Deci and Joseph Porac[2], motivation deals with the emotional, psychological, affective centers of the human psyche resulting in a choice of certain behavioral outcomes. Deci defines a motive as "a transitory awareness of the possibility of achieving some internal satisfaction." He points out that a motive is "a cognitive representation" of a future condition. Thus it is "a state of the organism and not a behavior." Ones physiology, memory

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[1]Condry & Chambers. (1978). In Lepper & Greene, ed. (1987).
[2]Deci & Porac. In Lepper & Greene, eds. (1978). p. 166-7.

(personal life's history of experiences), and the incoming stimuli from the environment provide information to the individual that creates motives.[3]

Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation Contexts

Motivation for learning activity can be broken down into two contexts. In one context the stimulus for the learning activity arises from totally internal needs and desires. This is called "intrinsic motivation." The other, "extrinsic motivation," is the context in which the motive for the activity is stimulated by an outside reward or goal such as money, prizes, high grades or entrance examination scores. Often learning can not be neatly divided between these two contexts as there may be overlap; there may be instances where both contexts may be simultaneously accountable for a particular behavior.

Deci and Porac have created an operational definition of intrinsic motivation as being contingent on the absence of extrinsic rewards as the reward is said to be in the activity itself. Deci and Porac use what they call a "free-choice" measure to evaluate the degree of how intrinsic an activity is based on the extent to which subjects choose to engage in a target activity.[4] Robert White (1959) has argued that both contexts are intrinsic since both occur within the individual as a personal need "whether for competence, hunger, sex, or approval. . . external factors in the environment are almost always involved, because need 'to have an effect on the environment requires an environment.'"[5]

For the purposes of this research, I shall incline more to an operational definition using a somewhat Weberian ideal typology in which the term will be defined in its extreme or ideal sense. The real phenomenon may never actually occur in the extreme case of a pure

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[3]Ibid.
[4]Ibid. p. 50.
[5]Ibid. p. 165.

"extrinsically motivated type" or a pure "intrinsically motivated type." This typology will merely hope to serve as a starting point for observing the differentiating patterns of which the process of learning unfolds itself within the range of these two contexts. The distinction between the learning contexts of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation is in need of further elaboration.

Deci and Porac see "challenge-seeking" and "self-fulfillment" as the major mechanisms motivating human behavior. Deci states, "The experience of finding and managing optimal challenges satisfies people's intrinsic need to be competent and self-determining."[6] Deci notes that basic to the human species, this intrinsic, internal need to gain competence and efficacy in manipulation of the world and a need for self-determinism manifests very important value for survival.[7]

There is a basic human need to try to manipulate ones environment by exerting personal control. One strives to get better at what one does. Individuals have a need to do things the right way. In the process of manipulating the environment many mistakes are going to be made. If one never made mistakes, then there would be no self-challenge. If one never set challenges before oneself one would never grow out of childhood. By responding to self-imposed or outside-imposed challenges, one is placed in a learning situation. As a baby, one begins the learning process by formulating information on how to select in the form of play, exploration, and interaction with the environment. Making choices and decisions, then is a very basic and important process that begins in trial and error shortly after birth. From the time we are young children we act to affect our environment in various ways. When we are unsuccessful, we modify our behavior, try again, and feed back to the

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[6]Ibid. p. 151.
[7]Ibid.

problem--the cycle may continue for some time until we succeed in affecting the desired change or goal. This, in effect, is a learning process. Such learning involves learning how to learn and becomes generalized and differentiated into specific areas and made applicable to other learning contexts.

I feel that this is one reason why play is so important in childhood. Children, who, for example, are interrupted in their play and made to remain quiet or forced to study against their will at an early age, may miss out on proper emotional development necessary for psychological stability as adults. Stressful childhood experiences as these may cause children to develop a tendency to remain dependent, lack strong decision-making ability, and find difficulty generalizing learning skills into other areas at later points in their lives.

Why do Some People Learn Where Others Don't?: Static Stress States Versus "Sense of Flow" and Self-Involvement in the Creative Learning Process

As stated above, in intrinsic motivation, the reward for an activity is not external, it is in the activity itself. For example, let us take the activity of playing baseball. For those who enjoy playing baseball, the action is simply fun. The reward is in the doing--the playing itself. A good teacher may be said to be one who takes the responsibility to try to induce within students a sense of internal reward in the very activity of learning itself. The student him-/herself becomes involved and active in his/her own process of learning. Originally everyone brings this native, intrinsic curiosity and motivation to school with them. But somehow in the process of formal education, this often gets changed. When it changes, so too does the process or context of learning change.

In extrinsic motivation where the reward is outside of the self, it is not only money, good grades, or high examination scores, but also in the reverse form--deprivation of rewards, avoidance of punishment, fear of failing grades, etc. which also serve as extrinsic motivators. In situations where one is not able to affect desired changes in his/her surroundings and one is not reinforced in competency and self-determinism, a condition referred to by Seligman as "learned helplessness" may surface.[8] In nearly every school, there seems to reside a certain population of students who through a series of unhappy, stressful school experiences come to regard the school environment with a sense of helplessness. This condition is referred to as "learned" as it is an acquired pathology spun off from the educational system.

Another growing pathology resulting from the school environment in Japan recently is "school-aversion" (*gakkou-girai*) in which children refuse to go to school. Some children experience perceived or real stress related symptoms. Such conditions as these become chronic for many children who are products of an educational system unsympathetic to individual rates of learning and the value of trial and error in the learning process. Once set into motion through a downward, negatively self-fulfilling spiral process, the conditions often continue all throughout ones education for many frustrated, insecure and unhappy children. Such a spiral may be prevented from ever occurring by providing self-rewarding experiences within the learning process itself. Instead of failure, the trial and error process may be regarded as a positive stepping stone of challenge in which students are taught how to approach problems with an attitude that it's OK to fail, to try again, perhaps even fail again, but eventually be guided to a successful experience. Success may have different meanings for different students. Through

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[8]Ibid. p. 154.

encouragement of successful learning experiences, intrinsic motivation will not become undermined; it will be strengthened.

With intrinsically motivated learning, the self in involved. The decision to act comes from within the learner; it is not imposed from the outside. The learner decides how to learn and when to cease the learning activity at ones own pace. Csikszentmihalyi refers to such self-directed learning as a "flow" which he states is characterized by such phenomenon as a "loss of ego or self consciousness, a sense of control of oneself and the environment", and the purpose of the flow being "to keep on flowing rather than to look for a goal or a peak."[9]

Similarly Ken Wilber refers to a sense of flow in respect to psychological attitudes and learning. He states, "Figurative descriptions of a sense of flow--as in love, joy, confidence and the creative process--may actually reflect states of consciousness in resonance with the holistic 'wave' aspect of reality. Anxiety, anger, and 'stuckness' would represent fragmented states."[10]

In Wilber's edited text entitled, *The Holographic Paradigm*, (1982), Karl Pribram and David Bohm's new scientific paradigm based on a holographic model (of the universe-within-the-brain) opens new thought to the way in which learning encodes in the brain. The model of the hologram, in which images of objects are transformed into wave patterns and are stored as a blur of interference patterns on a holographic plate, is likened to the way in which concrete reality is mathematically constructed by the brain in the frequency domain. Any broken off piece of a larger whole holographic plate can in itself reconstruct the entire image of the object. The brain too is said to distribute certain types of

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[9]Ibid. p. 152.
[10]Wilber, K, ed., 1982, p. 11.

memory or learning diffusely throughout the brain. In regards to education, Wilber states,

> Educators have known for decades that anxiety undermines the ability to learn. Judging from brainwave activity, anxiety is like static--a noisier, arrhythmic state. Teaching methods can attempt to foster harmonious, relaxed states in students by centering on meditative techniques, biofeedback, Suggestology type blends of music and breath exercises. A deeper understanding of the brain as a complex frequency analyzer might engender greater respect for individual differences in learning style.[11]

This idea of a positive "flow" is represented physiologically by the flow of Alpha wave activity in the brain. Such Alpha states occur when one is at peace, and relaxed: the brain waves fall into the Alpha state during meditation, in the dream state, in the relaxed state before sleep, and the creative, happy state in which learning takes place.

The Importance of English in Japan: Initiation Rite

In Japan, over 90% of middle school graduates and once again some 45%[12] of high-school-leaving students sit for entrance examinations to institutions of higher education with English as a major weight of the examination. The range of organizations which emphasize English achievement as an entry requirement includes not only high schools and universities, but also sometimes junior colleges, commercial and technical schools and even companies and other places of employment. Every time entrance to some institution is desired, such an examination stands in the way. Perhaps it is safe to say that close to 100% of all of today's middle school Japanese students are going to have to take an English entrance examination at some point in their lives, and many of them will take such an examination in differing forms more than once. So, in effect, this

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[11]Ibid. p. 10.
[12]Mombusho. 1984 Gakkou Kihon Chousa Houkokusho (Fundamental School Survey Report of 1984), Japanese Ministry of Education, 1985.

means that English examinations become very important in Japan. The result is that English learning becomes extrinsic.

Although not actually a national requirement of the Ministry of Education, English language is taught in about 99% of all middle schools and about 98-99% of all high schools in Japan.[13] Foreign language is a requirement of the Ministry, but whether it be English, French or Chinese is, in principle, an elective. Few schools offer more than one choice.

Let us now examine the situation of learning motivation of students in Japan towards English as applied to Condry and Chambers' Four-Phase Learning Paradigm. In each of the phases the learning contexts of intrinsic or extrinsic motivation display different learning processes.

CONDRY & CHAMBERS' 4-PHASE LEARNING PARADIGM

The four stages of John Condry and James Chambers' learning process paradigm are 1.) INITIAL ENGAGEMENT, where learning activity begins, 2.) PROCESS, where exploration and manipulation of learning activity occurs, 3.) DISENGAGEMENT, where the activity ceases, and 4.) RE-ENGAGEMENT, where the activity is re-enacted and the cycle begins anew. One might ask at the Initial Engagement Phase, what motivates a student to go to the library, for example, to search for a book and take it off the shelf. At the Process phase the student begins to read the book, or otherwise through examination of the book stimulates learning. The Disengagement phase enters at some point when the student decides for whatever reasons to stop reading and he closes the book. The Re-engagement phase occurs at some later point when, again, the student picks up the book and continues the learning activity.

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[13]Kumabe, Naomitsu. (1983). In Koike, I., (Ed.). p. 123.

Beginning with the initial engagement stage, let us examine how the process of learning develops in fundamentally different ways between these two learning contexts of intrinsic or extrinsic motivation as theorized by Condry and Chambers. Then let us specifically relate this to English education in the Japanese public schools which begins with the first year of middle school and continues for six years until the end of high school for nearly the entire age population.

Phase I: The Initial Engagement Stage of English Learning: What Makes the Learning Begin?

Condry and Chambers conclude that extrinsically motivated learning involves a lack of choice as the reason for the behavior is already determined by the outside goal. The attention which is normally directed to the "process" of the task activity itself often becomes distracted by the "product" of the reward.[14] The sense of self-involvement decreases and the individual inclines more to a state of passivity. The route to the goal is often shortcutted thus undermining the process of learning which one might naturally pursue in an intrinsically motivated learning context. Because an extrinsically motivated learner short-cuts the learning process, he learns less about his own capacity and uses less information in the environment. In laboratory experiments, Condry and Chambers (1976) found that students paid to do certain learning tasks choose significantly easier ones than those who solved the problems without the anticipation of a reward.[15]

Change in the perceived locus of causality: The mechanism of change from intrinsic to extrinsic motivational contexts. In the case of intrinsic motivation, the reason or stimulus for the activity is curiosity,

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[14]Condry & Chambers. (1978). In Lepper & Greene. (Eds.,) . p. 66.
[15]Condry & Chambers (1976). Cited in Lepper & Greene, 1978, p. 66.

challenge, personal development, or interest. Many middle school teachers report that students in the first year of English study are very enthusiastic and find English study very enjoyable. However, by the third year, enjoyment decreases.[16] Why? What is happening in the educational system to bring about this change in attitude that causes the intrinsic motivational pattern to change to extrinsic. Edward Deci refers to this phenomenon as the "change in the locus of causality."[17]

What was perceived previously in the first year of middle school as an interesting activity of studying English simply by virtue of being fun or self-rewarding in itself, by the third year becomes an activity constrained by the need for success on the external examination. Soon students begin to view the behavior of studying English as an instrument for achieving the external reward (examination success) instead of purely for the intrinsic pleasure of learning English in itself. And students will come to "emit that behavior only in the presence of reward contingencies. In other words, their intrinsic motivation will be decreased, and their persistence in the absence of extrinsic reward contingencies will be lessened."[18]

What results is an unconscious, psychological altering of the motivational context. The studying of English, in itself, becomes only a means for achieving the external examination proficiency--the unwritten apex of the modern educational stream. Students thus come to perceive English study (or any other academic subject as well, for that matter) as providing a route to a "higher," or seemingly more important, immediate

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[16]This finding is based upon a year long observational survey in a Nishinomiya middle school, numerous interviews with teachers and students between 1983-87 in various Japanese schools, and results of several surveys which I conducted on Japanese students. This finding has also been documented by others. One such example is the General Survey of English Language Teaching at Colleges and Universities in Japan--Students' View, Koike, Ikuo, 1985, Research Group for College English Teaching in Japan, Keio University.

[17]Deci, E. (1978). In Lepper & Greene. (Eds.). p. 66.

[18]Ibid.

goal. Unconsciously, the student finds him-/herself less and less able to perceive the study of English apart from the examination, and the broader intrinsic learning context narrows to an extrinsic motivational orientation.

The first proposition in Deci's Cognitive Evaluation Theory (1975), is a concise statement of the above explanation. He states that " this process in which the administration of rewards for intrinsically motivated activities cause the behavior to become an instrumentality for the reward so that the perceived locus of causality changes from internal to external."[19]

In a pre-test questionnaire survey and interviews which I administered to middle and high school students from a private Tokyo school in December of 1983, results revealed that students who self-assessed their English ability high in speaking and hearing skills correlated higher in their "liking of English" than those students who gave themselves high self-assessments in reading skills of English. Reading skills are those skills related to examination proficiency and thus extrinsic in nature. Whereas speaking and hearing skills are unrelated to examination requirements, the motivation behind the acquisition of those skills may be said to be intrinsic. In conclusion, these findings revealed that this kind of intrinsically motivated learning achievement is linked to a more positive attitude towards that learning activity than is the more extrinsically motivated learning achievement.[20]

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[19]Ibid.

[20]I conducted this trial questionnaire survey in December, 1983 to 50 middle school students, and 50 high school students in a private Tokyo middle/high school. As the survey sample was very small it was difficult to get correlationally significant results. However this result proved to be one of the more significant outcomes of that pre-test. I was later able to repeat this test with the same results in larger surveys in 1985 and 1986.

Socialization towards extrinsic goals. A phenomenon is created on all levels of Japanese society in which individuals are socialized to become performance oriented regarding education--and in this specificity, English education. The examination score becomes the goal of education. Knowledge comes to mean the right answer. Clearly the educational curriculum of English language in the public schools corresponds to examination proficiency over practical speaking or hearing proficiency which is not yet a viable part of the examination.

In answer to recent criticisms, many national as well as private universities[21], in efforts to embrace a wider scope of English usage have come to include new so-called "pronunciation" sections on their entrance examinations. The questions on these sections often consist of written questions requiring an answer by blackening the correct dot out of four choices. These are often no more than linguistic items requiring insignificant knowledge of the phonetic written symbols of which most native speakers can not even claim erudition. (There is a distinction here from the ability to produce and distinguish sounds.)

Aside from the mere problems of performance orientation mentioned above, is the debate over how educators choose to define which performance is valid in assessing ability. Even if we may hope for "listening" sections on future entrance examination, I still question just how much this will really solve the problem, as the issue yet remains that of performance orientation over process. The problem is the entire entrance examination system itself looming over students as the extrinsic motivator for educational activity.

Phase II: The Process Stage

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[21]This is also the case in regards to the national unified examination which all students wishing to enter national universities must first take.

The second stage of Condry and Chambers' learning cycle is the "process" stage. Japanese educators must ask themselves why Japanese students need to learn English? Students need to know why. This question is tied up with the goals of English education, and has been questioned and re-questioned since the beginning of English language instruction from the Meiji Period. Even if individuals never have a need, nor opportunity to go abroad to use a foreign language, the process of learning a foreign language can in itself develop many aspects of cognitive growth, not to mention growth of consciousness. I believe the important element here is the learning of how to learn which deepens ones capacity to manipulate his or her surroundings with efficacy. By learning English, Japanese students may be able to objectively view themselves and develop a meaningful context for their own language through a bi-lingual, multi-various perception of the world. One may come to see how differing languages shape ideas and actions in unique ways.

Instead of asking questions of the extrinsic context, for example, "John has already _?_ the apple. Which of the following is correct? (ate, eaten, eat, eated)"; intrinsically motivated behavior will search out answers to questions such as the following: How might religion, politics, and social systems be explained in terms of language? Why do some languages lack words or ways to express concepts and feelings that are so vital to others? Why do grammatical systems differ between languages? Do these differing grammatical systems make one people perceive a world differently than another, or is it the varying perceptions of the world that has created the varying language phenomenon? How does the spoken vernacular differ and compare with the much later developed written language? That is, how was the evolution of speech (language) prescribed by the imposition of the later, relatively recent written

orthography? How has language changed since written history? Essentially, how does language relate to culture at all levels?

English learning and the development of basic learning strategies. Condry and Chambers make reference to "strategies of learning." They state the following:

> Learning requires that one develop some skills and habits such a attention to specific aspects of the informational array, formation of meaningful questions, perceptions of relationships, and integration of information. . . what we prefer to call *strategies of learning* are different under the two motivational contexts. . . Intrinsically motivated subjects attend to and utilize a wider array of information; they are focused on the *way* to solve the problem rather than the solution. They are, in general, more careful, logical, and coherent in their problem solving strategies than comparable subjects offered a reward to solve the same problem.[22]

Whereas intrinsically motivated students are apt to develop and apply a wider variety of learning skills demanding higher cognitive functions, extrinsically motivated students are apt to rely on memorization as the main strategy of learning as it is the easiest and most efficient means for passing an examination. And this is usually memorization of information which is crammed into ones memory at the very last moment, just prior to the examination. It is effective indeed for passing examinations, but not very effective for long term retention of applicable knowledge and development of basic skills which can become differentiated later into other learning contexts.

Benjamin Bloom (1956) lists a taxonomy of education objectives, in which cognitive learning is seen as hierarchically acquired. In order from the bottom, "Knowledge" is the lowest, then "interpretation", "application", "analysis", "synthesis", and the highest "evaluation". Bloom defines at the lowest level, "knowledge" as involving "the recall of specific and isolable

[22]Condry & Chambers. (1978). In Lepper & Greene. (Eds.). p. 69.

bits of information. The emphasis is on symbols with concrete referents. This material, which is at a very low level of abstraction, may be thought of as the elements from which more complex and abstract forms of knowledge are built."[23] The next lowest levels of knowledge include "knowledge of terminology" and "knowledge of specific facts." I feel that these lowest levels on Bloom's taxonomy of cognitive development is where the extrinsically motivated entrance examination taker often remains fixed. In the extrinsic context, the concern is much more with the small details rather than the content or meaning as a whole and generally the easiest route is chosen. With English education, the small details of grammar are over-learned whereas the value in the meaning or communicative aspect is often ignored. Translation is safe as creativity is not required. When English is taught through the medium of Japanese, self-expression is held to a minimum. On the other hand, intrinsically motivated students learn skills of experimentative and investigative reasoning and inquiry in a trial and error process. Students will tend to be more verbal and expressive through a more active approach to English learning.

The development of cognitive potentiality is facilitated by the individual through his/her own active utilization of various learning techniques. I believe that such variable as 1.) the greater the complexity and intricacy of the learning techniques applied, 2.) the number of simultaneously applied strategies to a single problem, 3.) the intensity of concentration applied, 4.) the amount of time applied, 5.) the quantity and quality of the strategies applied, and 6.) the attitude or motivational context from which learning behavior is instigated, are variables affecting the overall development of the cognition. These variables might also be affected by the individual's physical attributes (including native

[23]Bloom, B. et al, (1956) p. 201.

intelligence, body structure, and health), school environment, home and outside of school environment, age and maturity, and materials available.

I feel that for the most part Japanese students are socialized to perform for the extrinsic score. The school curriculum, textbooks and teaching strategies correspond to performance orientations. Most teachers are concerned with their students getting the correct answer and less with the process of learning itself. This in turn is transferred to the students. They develop a fear of making mistakes which stifles any inclination to be experimentative.

Studying versus learning. Here we may return to the question of the difference between "studying" as opposed to "learning." Study is activity which may be stimulated by intrinsic or extrinsic motivation. Children who are forced to study with the threat of not passing, not succeeding, or wasting Papa's tuition money find themselves in an extrinsically motivated study mode. Of course, this is not to say that some children are not intrinsically motivated to study out of their own internal desire. However, it is estimated that 60-70% of Japanese middle school children attend private after school classes, called *juku*, at least two to three times a week for two hours each time.[24] These *juku* are private schools designed to help students cram for examinations or to help them catch up with regular school work. Parents voluntarily send their children to these schools and pay high tuitions out of personal family expenses. The subjects most often studied in *juku* are mathematics, Japanese and English. This situation draws into question, for example, the case of an elementary or middle school child sitting in a *juku* classroom after school--tired and frustrated--passively receiving instruction; while at the same time another child--perhaps his American counterpart--is running around exploring nature, playing out his

[24]Duke, B., 1986, p. 96.

emotions, testing his own limitations, developing relationships with his peers, experiencing leadership roleplaying and interpersonal communication, and coming to gain personal, self-confidence.

It is questionable as to which of these two environments is really the more conducive to learning. Is it the child who takes the form of studying or the child who discovers his environment himself through his own intrinsically motivated interest? I would contend that the optimum situation would be a balanced blending between a guided study environment and a free, exploratory setting in which the young child can act out his emotions, play through the development of relationships with others, and actively learn how to manipulate those things in his environment (which may or may not be selected and made available by a teacher or parent) which draw out his passion for learning.

The point is that whether a child be in a classroom, home at one's desk, outside on the playfield, or in the company of a friend, "learning" itself can only occur under a condition in which the individual is receptive to the internalization of incoming stimuli of the environment through ones own activity. Such activity may take the form of quiet, but nonetheless, active, thoughtful, study; or it may take the form of noisy, but nonetheless, explorative, internalized play. The value of true learning is priceless. But when extrinsic rewards serve as motivators for learning, a value is attributed to that context creating a cheapening effect.

Phase III: The Disengagement Stage: When Does English Learning "Shut-Off"?

The third stage of Condry and Chambers' cycle is the "disengagement" point where the learning activity is terminated and the subject goes on to something else. Condry and Chambers ask, "How is the willingness to leave a task affected by the differing motivational

contexts?"[25] After reading the book for some time, the student closes the book. Why? What causes that activity to terminate and at what point?

Condry and Chambers state that when extrinsic rewards serve as motivators for activity, usually the route to the goal is curtailed. "It (this shortcutting of the learning process) reduces what one learns about one's own problem-solving abilities."[26] English learning which is perceived as an instrument for examination proficiency is likely to "shut-off" temporarily or permanently following completion of examination requirements. Examination proficiency is often best achieved by "cramming" or memorizing bits of information just prior to the examination period. Students are often aware of the fact that most of such "crammed" information will not likely remain much beyond the examination period. However, purely extrinsically motivated students are neither bothered by this fact nor diverted from studying in such a manner. They will tend to not concern themselves with skills not relevant to the examination.

Contrarily English learning stimulated by motivation of the intrinsic context will generally "shut-off" or terminate when the individual reaches a temporary satiation feeling or a sense of satisfaction at mastery of a more integrated set of skills. Disengagement generally takes place when the subject has a feeling of mastery, at least for the time being, or has a sense of self-satisfaction. In the case of English learning, mastery may include speaking, hearing, expression, interpretation, search for meaning, and fluency in language production--in both speaking and reading. Other factors may also affect termination of the activity such as the novelty having worn off, or something else distracting the attention.[27]

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[25]Condry & Chambers. (1978). In Lepper & Greene. (Eds.) p. 70.
[26]Ibid. p. 71.
[27]Ibid.

Phase IV: The Re-Engagement Phase: What Turns English Learning Back On Again?

Condry and Chambers' final stage on the learning loop is the "re-engagement" phase where the cycle, in effect, begins again. Once again, the student picks up the learning material and continues to explore where he or she left off. Condry and Chambers ask what is it that inspires or motivates one to persist at a task or to return to it later after having already disengaged. They make the point that if certain negative, unpleasant experiences are associated with the learning task during the process, it should not be surprising to find a "decrease in meaningfulness, enjoyment, and the desire to return to it."[28]

As mentioned before, this is what appears to be happening with English education as we progress from the first year of middle school through to the end of high school. It seems that the unfortunate majority of students, over time, come more and more to develop a dislike for English. Another reason to account for this may be that students start out very enthusiastic about English in the first year of middle school when they can achieve a sense of mastery in being able to make simple expressions communicate in a foreign language. But then as the pace of instruction increases and new curriculum becomes estranged from speaking and practicality relevant to their real lives, many students are left floundering in confusion and before long only the very top strata of the class can follow the lesson at all. This is mostly evident by the end of middle school. Then with entrance examinations and a re-shifting, reshuffling, regrouping into stratified high schools, the process is only to start all over again.

Through such a process, many students develop a dislike for English resulting in a rejection of English learning. The student who

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[28]Ibid., p.72.

comes to associate English with "Examination Hell" will probably never come to like English. Perhaps that person never will go back to studying English or even attempting to use it after the examinations are all over. The typical reaction to this is that many people "shelve" their English studies after the examination, which literally means that they put their English books and materials back on the shelf. They never want to see or hear English again after that horrible experience.

However, many adults in their later affiliations with international companies or other such work demanding skills of practical English, find themselves forced back into the classrooms and other learning situations to acquire spoken English. It may be said that it is generally the extrinsic, diligent types who are the most successful in passing the entrance examinations to the elite universities. And in turn, they are the people who end up in the large international companies struggling to learn "English conversation." But now when they go their company English conversation classes, many realize that they have this block against English. Many returnees to education must fight with their inner rejection of English to overcome their block against learning how to express themselves in English and make practical use of the foreign language.

In the case of the intrinsically motivated students, the same curiosity that they had in the beginning will still be there. They will have the same motivation to go back to that activity, and in fact when they go back this time (when they re-engage) they will often desire to do so in an an even more challenging way than initially. They will want to go another step higher.

SUMMARY AND SUGGESTIONS

The age-old problem set before educators of how to stimulate motivation in students may henceforth be altered to that of how to stimulate "intrinsic" motivation in students or better yet how to prevent subjugation of the natural motivation which may be simply lying dormant. In summary, following are some brief suggestions which may help educators and parents to stimulate greater intrinsic motivation in students.

1.) In Japanese society and Japanese schools, independency is a skill which can not be taken for granted. Independency itself must be taught first as a learning strategy skill before students can learn how to become independent learners where they take responsibility for their own learning. One thing which may be done is to offer students more choice, providing a setting for more personal self-involvement. Students should be allowed more independence to work on projects in which they can exercise a lot of their own decision making and choice. For more dependent type of students, it may work well to have students interact in small groups. By demanding less structure, students should be guided to the development of their own ideas.

2.) The use of extrinsic rewards as motivators should be avoided. References to entrance examinations to institutions of higher education need not be mentioned or used as threats to try to make students learn.

3.) Teachers may set up creative, active learning environments with materials, suggestions and models which encourage students to become actively involved. Teachers should try to avoid teaching situations where the students remain passive--especially with younger children. This is also a cultural lesson for Japanese, as they are not generally socialized to be expressive or active. This must be taught as a learning strategy skill first. Being active and expressive is not the same

as being wild and uncontrollable. Japanese teachers can learn this skill along with their students.

4.) Teachers should allow and encourage children to use English vocabulary which is relative to their own world. If a student enjoys comic books, for example, then that student should be taught the English word "comic book", and perhaps even be provided with English language comic books, or encouraged to make his/her own. The student who likes telescopes will need to know that word in English. Students will remember those words which are relative to their own environment. Teachers need not be afraid to go beyond the textbook.

5.) The evaluation of students' achievement is something that should go on constantly as a day to day process, not something at the end of each term. Students need constant feedback on their progress. In turn, teachers need to listen to the feedback from their students in areas where teaching may improve. All students should gain mastery. It is the responsibility of the teacher to create a learning context where everyone learns and is rewarded for that learning through their own individual sense of mastery--through a sense of doing it correctly, succeeding. The student should never have to suffer from a sense of failure.

6.) It is advisable to use a variety of teaching strategies and methods, not only one or two, but teachers should use as many different methods as possible, as variety increases interest and stimulates greater development of students' learning strategies. However, methods, even good methods, in themselves are not enough. Teachers need to have a philosophy of education which involves a creative attitude towards their own focus of teaching.

7.) Students should be encouraged to express themselves both verbally and through a written medium. Content and meaning should be emphasized over the minor details. The little facts of English such as

"John has already __?__ the apple." are less important than the content, the meaning, the essence of the communicative element of language.

8.) Students must be made to realize that mistakes are alright and in fact often mistakes that are made in attempting to learn a foreign language are very similar to those made in learning their own language as children. When one attempts to use a rule which seemingly should work, but in a particular case doesn't, the child should be applauded for his logical attempt. Through this the student will internalize how languages are occasionally "absurd and illogical" and will most likely remember that "exception to the rule". Thus mistakes must be perceived as beautiful. Mistakes should certainly be permitted to the point where trial-and-error is encouraged. In computer language and in the educational computer program, LOGO, the word "debugging" is used to denote taking out the "bugs" or mistakes. In LOGO language, "debugging" has a very positive meaning and is an important part of the learning process in program-thinking.[29]

In the Japanese martial art of Judo, the first thing that is taught to beginners is how to fall. It is very important that they learn to fall gracefully so as not to get hurt. The same concept should apply to the making of mistakes in English. Students have to learn that mistakes are part of the game, and if they fall gracefully, they will become strengthened.

9.) When teaching English language skills, teachers must also be conscious of teaching "learning strategy skills" as well. The acquiring of English learning strategies is equally, if not more important than the learning of grammar or vocabulary of English.

10.) Inquiry and experimentation should be encouraged. Time should be allowed for group discussion in which the teacher's role is only

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[29]Papert, S. 1980.

that of a sort of director; the activity remains on the part of the students.

11.) Teachers themselves need to be intrinsically motivated in their work and in their outlook on life, and then they can instil this in their students. Creativity creates creativity. Teachers should bring creativity to class with them and encourage their students to do so as well in order to set in motion a process in students to engender active, intrinsically motivated performance.

CONCLUSION

I have attempted to show how certain motivational contexts towards English in Japan affect the learning process. Motivation was broken into two contexts to be used as ideal typologies to further explain the tendencies towards learning attitude and behavior.

Intrinsic motivation was shown to be a natural, innate drive of all human beings to grow and learn as a function of survival. Later that intrinsic motivational context often becomes totally or partially changed to an extrinsic motivational context in which the goal of an outside reward becomes the main stimulus for the activity. In the intrinsic context, there is more of a "sense of flow" involved in the process itself, whereas in the extrinsic context the goal is separate and outside of the self, often creating stress and static. The emphasis is on the end-product of education, not the process itself.

Condry and Chambers' four-phase process of learning paradigm was presented to show how the difference of intrinsically or extrinsically motivated learning affects the learning processes in categorically different ways. The situation of English learning in Japan was applied to this paradigm (see appendix for summary tables of this application). Edward Deci's Cognitive Evaluation Theory was briefly presented to

explain how the intrinsic motivation changes to the extrinsic context when rewards are administered for activities which were originally intrinsically motivated. When the behavior becomes an instrumentality or a means for attaining the reward, the "locus of causality" changes from internal to external.

The entrance examination system, in which English has become a hard-core academic subject as an entrance requirement for nearly all high schools and universities, creates a phenomenon in which English education becomes extrinsic in Japan. The resulting effect is that English learning strategies remain limited to examination proficiency and less of the available foreign language information is manipulated in the learning process. Initially many students are intrinsically motivated to learn English and find enjoyment in the means of self expression. Later through the instrument of extrinsic goal-seeking in the educational process, students come to develop a negative attitude towards that learning.

Learning requires activity on the part of the student. The activity of "mere studying" is not necessarily correlative with the activity of "learning", a process involving the affective attitude towards the learning task itself. Finally, some suggestions have been offered in how guided classroom learning of intrinsically motivated tasks may be stimulated.

APPENDIX: INTRINSIC MOTIVATION FOR LEARNING

	CONDRY/CHAMBERS' 4-PHASE LEARNING PARADIGM	THEORY AS APPLIED TO ENGLISH EDUCATION IN JAPAN
INITIAL ENGAGEMENT	I. 1. Reason for activity is curiosity, challenge, personal growth	1. Most students are eager, enthusiastic as they come into 7th grade English.
	2. More complex, challenging tasks, activities are chosen.	2. Choose tasks without regard to difficulty. Ex: vocab. relevant to life.
	3. Orientation is towards process over performance.	3. Learning to speak, use of English is more important than score, grade.
	4. Broader choice variation	4. Use more language learning strategies
	5. More active, self-involvement.	5. More of a sense of self-expression.
PROCESS	II. 1. Subjects use a wider array of information.	1. A wider array of information is used such as listening, speaking skills.
	2. Subjects are focused on the *way* to solve the problem.	2. The focus is not only getting the right answer; understanding is sought.
	3. Getting the answer - solving the mystery as a goal.	3. Learning how to learn deepens ones capacity to manipulate environment.
	4. Strategies of learning--forms meaningful questions, integration of information, more careful, coherent, logical in problem solving strategies	4. Develops a multi-various perception of the world by developing a context for ones native language. Relation to to ones own context of different language, religion, culture,thoughts.
	5. More experimentation, investigation, inquiry, trial & error.	5. Expression: concern with content & meaning over detail. Holistic.
DISENGAGEMENT	III. 1. Learning disengages with mastery; self-satisfaction	1. Activity stops with feeling of satisfaction at mastery of English.
	2. Problem-solving skills become broader, more differentiated.	2. Mastery may come to mean English fluency--more information is used.
RE-ENGAGEMENT	IV. 1. Desire to return to task may be same curiosity & challenge that was stimulated initially.	1. The initial interest and curiosity which first attracted one to learn English remains unstifled.
	2. Efficacy & competency felt during activity associates with pos., self-rewarding experience.	2. Students feel rewarded by their ability to speak, and communicate by using English practically.
	3. Not only a desire to return to the task, also to seek related tasks even more challenging.	3. Feelings of satisfaction at making progress will accelerate learning motivation. Extend limits to fluency.
	4. Active attitude, where the self is involved.	4. Personally relevant English stimulates desire to continue.

APPENDIX: EXTRINSIC MOTIVATION FOR LEARNING

	CONDRY/CHAMBERS' 4-PHASE LEARNING PARADIGM	THEORY AS APPLIED TO ENGLISH EDUCATION IN JAPAN
INITIAL ENGAGEMENT	I. 1. Reason for action is a reward, something outside of the self. 2. Subjects tend to prefer easier tasks. 3. Oriented towards end-product over the learning process. 4. The degree of choice is curtailed. 5. More passive attitude. 6. Search for shortcuts to reach goal. Not self-involved.	1. Performance orientation is to pass entrance exams w/English emphasis. 2. Performance of examination skills are emphasized; not speaking, hearing. 3. English proficiency (knowledge) comes to mean the correct answer. 4. English problems are seen as having *one* correct answer. 5. Others decide "valid" performance. 6. Short-cutted English results in lack of deep internalization, unable to use E.
PROCESS	II. 1. Subjects use as little information as possible to reach goal. 2. Subjects are focused on the *solution* rather than process. 3. Getting the answer = success as a goal. 4. Fewer learning strategies are used; careless, less logical. 5. Fear of making mistakes, not as experimental; attempt more use of guessing.	1. Concentrate mainly on exam problems; develop fewer language skills. 2. Unable to understand deep meaning of expression through the process. 3. Exam-taking skills are given priority over language & speaking skills. 4. Limited learning strategies are used, mostly memorization, translation. 5. Translation is easiest, safest (Don't internalize creative aspects like self-expression or speaking.)
DISENGAGEMENT	III. 1. Learning disengages when desired goal is achieved. 2. Route to the goal is curtailed, reducing self-learning of one's problem-solving skills.	1. After cramming for exam, burn-out results; learning ceases. 2. Narrow range of trial and error. Speaking, hearing, composition skills don't get a chance to develop.
RE-ENGAGEMENT	IV. 1. If task was externally instigated, the experience may become constrained, stressful. 2. If expectations conflict with self, task becomes unpleasant. Desire to re-engage decreases. 3. Task becomes negatively evaluated and serves as a poor mode of self-expression. 4. "Learned Helplessness", ineffective, incompetent, passive.	1. When English becomes associated "Exam Hell", negative attitudes toward English study result. 2. After exam, students are burned-out and they want to put away English study for good. 3. Later employment may require use of English, but many still fight inner rejection, block against E. expression. 4. No sense of mastery, can't catch up. Passiveness develops into dislike.

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